

INTERNATIONAL SECURITY / MIDDLE EAST UPDATE
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1. [Obama Offers Full U.S. Embrace for Mideast Democratic Change](#) (05-19-2011)

By Stephen Kaufman
Staff Writer

Washington — Because of its own history and democratic values, the United States must stand with the people of the Middle East and with others who peacefully demand their universal rights and seek greater opportunities, President Obama says.

[Speaking in Washington May 19, Obama said](#) the current wave of political uprisings is a response to an unsustainable status quo in the region, and described the suicide of Tunisian fruit seller Mohamed Bouazizi, which sparked the first protests in the region, as a reaction to the relentless tyranny of governments that deny dignity to their own people.

“Our own nation was founded through a rebellion against an empire. Our people fought a painful civil war that extended freedom and dignity to those who were enslaved. And I would not be standing here today unless past generations turned to the moral force of nonviolence as a way to perfect our union,” the president said.

The United States believes that repression will fail, that tyrants will fall and that every man and every woman is entitled to certain inalienable rights, he said.

“We have the chance to show that America values the dignity of the street vendor in Tunisia more than the raw power of the dictator,” he said, adding that there must be no doubt on the part of those

living in the Middle East that “the United States of America welcomes change that advances self-determination and opportunity.”

The people have risen up on their own, and it is they themselves who will determine the outcome of their efforts, Obama said.

The United States opposes the use of violence and government oppression, and supports universal human rights. It can offer “concrete action” in support of political and economic reforms to help ordinary people of the region achieve their legitimate aspirations for greater freedoms and opportunities, he said.

The energy sweeping the region must be channeled “so that economic growth can solidify the accomplishments of the street” by expanding growth and broad-based prosperity, Obama said.

The president outlined [proposed economic support for Tunisia and Egypt](#), which are undergoing a democratic transition, and said those nations can set strong examples for the rest of the region by holding free and fair elections, having a vibrant civil society and building accountable and effective democratic institutions.

Obama said his administration has asked the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to present a plan at the upcoming Group of Eight summit on how best to stabilize and modernize the economies of both countries.

In addition, Obama said the United States will relieve Egypt of up to \$1 billion of its debt and channel that money into its medium-term development needs and job creation. It will also guarantee Egypt an additional \$1 billion in loans through the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) to allow it to fund additional infrastructure projects and employment opportunities for its young people.

The president proposed an Egyptian-American enterprise fund that would help stimulate private investment and promote job creation, and said the United States will work with the European Union to help boost trade both within and outside the region.

He called for the tearing down of “walls that stand in the way of progress,” such as corruption, bureaucratic red tape and patronage based on tribe or religious sect, and said the United States will help officials and activists develop reforms, increase transparency and help to hold governments accountable.

Obama said the May 1 death of al-Qaida leader Osama bin Laden had dealt his terror organization a “huge blow,” and added that many in the region had already come to see bin Laden’s agenda, which promoted destruction and opposed democracy, as “a dead end.”

The people of the Middle East have taken their own future into their hands, he said, and “through the moral force of nonviolence, the people of the region have achieved more change in six months than terrorists have accomplished in decades.”

U.S. interests in their region are not hostile to their hopes, but essential to them, he said, because the United States not only has a stake in the region’s stability, but is fundamentally committed to the self-determination of its people.

2. "A Moment of Opportunity" in Middle East and North Africa (05-19-2011)

The White House, Office of the Press Secretary

"So we face an historic opportunity. We have embraced the chance to show that America values the dignity of the street vendor in Tunisia more than the raw power of the dictator. There must be no doubt that the United States of America welcomes change that advances self-determination and opportunity. Yes, there will be perils that accompany this moment of promise. But after decades of accepting the world as it is in the region, we have a chance to pursue the world as it should be."

— President Barack Obama

May 19, 2011 Washington, DC

Today, recognizing the irreversible changes that have taken place in the Middle East and North Africa in recent months, President Obama announced a new approach to promoting democratic reform, economic development, and peace and security across the region.

Aligning Our Interests and Our Values: The President reaffirmed his commitment to a set of core principles that have guided the U.S. response to events in the Middle East and North Africa for the past six months. First, the United States opposes the use of violence and repression against the people of the region. Second, we support a set of universal rights including free speech; the freedom of peaceful assembly and association; equality for men and women under the rule of law; the right to practice your religion without fear of violence or discrimination; and the right to choose your own leaders through democratic elections. Third, we support political and economic change in the Middle East and North Africa that can meet the legitimate aspirations of the people throughout the region.

Our support for these principles is a top priority and central to the pursuit of other interests in the region. The U.S. will marshal all our diplomatic, economic, and strategic tools to support these principles. The status quo is not fair, nor stable. And it can no longer secure the core interests of the United States. Ultimately, our values and our interests will be better advanced by a region that is more democratic and prosperous.

Promoting Democratic Reform: It will be the policy of the United States to promote reform across the region and to support transitions to democracy. Real and durable democratic change in Tunisia and Egypt could have a transformative effect on the region and beyond. We will support free and fair elections, a vibrant civil society, basic rights to speak your mind and access information, and strong democratic institutions in both nations. We will empower women as drivers of peace and prosperity, supporting their right to run for office and meaningfully participate in decision-making because, around the world, history shows that countries are more prosperous and peaceful when women are more empowered. And we will deliver an economic program that reinforces our strong support for the transitions that are now underway.

The United States will also stand up for human rights and democracy in those countries where transitions have yet to take place. We will make the case to our partners that reform is in our shared interest. We will be a strong voice for democratic reform - a message we will deliver consistently, at high-levels, and across the U.S. government. We will strengthen and protect advocates for reform. Our message to governments in the region will be simple and clear: if you take the risks that reform entails, you will have the support and partnership of the United States.

A New Chapter of American Diplomacy: As the U.S. continues to work with governments, we will broaden and elevate our engagement with the people of the region. Building on our efforts since Cairo, our engagement will reach beyond elites and extend beyond capitals, cultivating reformist voices both inside and outside government. We will engage with and listen to those that will shape the future, particularly young people and women. Across the region, we will provide assistance to legitimate and independent groups, including some not officially recognized by governments. And we will expand and deepen our ties with entrepreneurs, and our cooperation on science and technology. We will engage, too, with all groups that reject violence, support democratic practices, and respect the rights of minorities, even if we don't agree with them. Using the same connective technologies that helped power the protests, we will connect and listen to the people of the region and factor the concerns of all these individuals and groups into our policy choices.

Making this strategic shift in our own approach will not always be easy. It demands that we renew and reshape our partnerships with governments in the region, and forge a deeper connection to a new generation that is desperate for a new beginning. President Obama will issue a Presidential Directive in the coming weeks to direct his Cabinet and national security team to put this new approach into action.

The United States is already putting this approach into practice across the region:

- **Bahrain:** The United States is committed to Bahrain's security. However, we believe that reform is the only path to enduring stability in Bahrain and that both sides must compromise to forge a just future for all Bahrainis. The only way forward is for the government and opposition to engage in a dialogue. The government must create the conditions for dialogue, and the opposition must participate to forge a just future for all Bahrainis.
- **Egypt:** The United States supports an orderly, peaceful, and legitimate transition to a representative and responsive government committed to democratic principles in Egypt. It is important to empower positive models, and Egypt is critical as the largest Arab country and an enduring partner of the United States. We are encouraged by some of the steps that the interim government has taken on the political front, and we support a fully transparent and inclusive process moving forward. The U.S. is working with the international community to identify ways to stabilize Egypt's economy in the short-term and promote economic policies for the medium and long-term that will help ensure economic prosperity accompanies the transition.
- **Jordan:** The United States is committed to our long-standing partnership with Jordan – a regional leader on political and economic reform. We recognize the government's efforts to respond to the legitimate demands of citizens through the National Dialogue Committee, and urge Jordan's leadership to seize this opportunity to advance meaningful reforms. U.S economic assistance supports Jordan's economic growth and development and promotes political, economic, and social reforms through programs in judicial reform, education, public health, job creation, and youth empowerment. We are also working with non-governmental partners in Jordan to cultivate a vibrant civil society. The United States also remains committed to Jordan's security and continues to provide security assistance aimed at, among other things, modernizing the Jordanian military and enhancing border security.
- **Libya:** The United States led an international effort to intervene in Libya to stop a massacre – joining with our allies at the UN Security Council to pass a historic resolution that authorized a no-fly zone and further authorized all necessary measures to protect the Libyan people. At the start of the air campaign, the President pledged to the American people that U.S. military action would

be limited in duration and scope and that we would ultimately transition from a U.S. to a coalition lead. The President has made good on that pledge. Now that we have transitioned to a NATO lead, we will continue to play an important role in the international community's effort to put pressure on Col. Qaddafi and to protect innocent civilians that his regime continues to attack. The President has made clear, Qaddafi has lost the confidence of the Libyan people and he must go. At the same time, the United States is engaging and assisting the Transitional National Council, a legitimate and credible interlocutor, which is committed to an inclusive, democratic political transition in Libya. We are also working to address humanitarian needs in Libya and along its borders.

- **Morocco:** The United States supports Morocco's efforts to promote ongoing democratic development through constitutional, judicial, and political reforms. We recognize the Moroccan government's efforts to respond the demands of its citizens and we urge the government to implement these crucial reforms. We are working with the people and the government of Morocco to support their efforts to consolidate the rule of law, protect human rights, improve governance, empower youth, and works towards meaningful constitutional reform. This includes a robust dialogue on human rights and political freedom.

- **Syria:** The United States condemns the Syrian government's murder and mass arrests of its people. We have imposed additional sanctions on the regime, including on President Assad and his inner circle. We stand by the Syrian people who have shown their courage in demanding dignity and a transition to democracy. President Assad now has a choice: he can lead that transition, or get out of the way.

- **Tunisia:** The United States is committed to supporting the Tunisian people as they build the stronger democratic foundations needed for long-term stability and broad-based economic growth. We welcome the significant steps that have been taken to advance the democratic transition, and will support Tunisians inside and outside of government as they hold democratic elections, craft a new constitution, and implement a broad-based reform agenda. We will support a new partnership between Tunisian civil society groups and technology companies in order to get more information, communications capacity available broadly throughout society.

- **Yemen:** The United States supports the aspirations of the Yemeni people for a more stable, unified, and prosperous nation, and we are committed to assisting them in this courageous pursuit. We are also committed to assisting Yemen to eradicate the security threat from al-Qa'ida in the Arabian Peninsula. President Saleh needs to follow through on his commitment to transfer power. We support a peaceful and orderly transfer of power that begins immediately.

Supporting Economic Development: To ensure that democratic change is reinforced by increasing economic opportunity, the President laid out a new economic vision for the region to support nations that commit to transition to democracy. We will also focus on rooting out corruption and other barriers to progress. Our efforts will create incentives for nations to pursue a path to democracy and modern economies and will also help tap the enormous potential of the region's young people. Our approach is based around four key pillars – support for economic policy formulation, support for economic stability, support for economic modernization, and the development of a framework for trade integration and investment.

- **Support for Better Economic Management:** We will offer concrete support to foster improved economic policy formulation and management alongside our democratization efforts. We will focus not only on promoting economic fundamentals, but also transparency and the prevention of corruption. We will use our bilateral programs to support economic reform preparations, including outreach and technical assistance from our governments, universities, and think tanks to regional

governments that have embraced reform, individuals, and NGOs. We will mobilize the knowledge and expertise of international financial institutions to support home grown reforms that increase accountability.

- **Support for Economic Stability:** Egypt and Tunisia have begun their transitions. Their economic outlooks were positive before recent events, but they are now facing a series of economic dislocations.

- Galvanizing Financial Support: We are galvanizing financial support from international financial institutions and Egypt and Tunisia's regional partners to help meet near term financial needs.

- Turning the Debts of the Past Into Investments in the Future: The United States will relieve Egypt of up to \$1 billion in debt by designing a debt swap arrangement, and swap it in a way that allows Egypt to invest these resources in creating jobs and fostering entrepreneurship.

- **Support for Economic Modernization:** We realize that the modernization of the economies in Middle East and North Africa will require a stronger private sector. To address that, we are committed to working with our international counterparts to support a reorientation of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development to support countries in the region. The Bank played a crucial role in supporting democratization and economic transition in Central and Eastern Europe and can make a great contribution in Middle East and North Africa as well. We also seek to establish Egyptian-American and Tunisian-American Enterprise Funds to stimulate private sector investment, to promote projects and procedures that support competitive markets, and to encourage public/private partnerships. And as Secretary Clinton announced in Cairo, the Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC) will provide up to \$2 billion dollars in financial support for private sectors throughout the MENA region.

- **Develop a Framework for Trade Integration and Investment:** The United States will launch a comprehensive Trade and Investment Partnership Initiative in the Middle East and North Africa. We will work with the European Union as we launch step-by-step initiatives that will facilitate more robust trade within the region, build on existing agreements to promote greater integration with U.S. and European markets, and open the door for those countries who adopt high standards of reform and trade liberalization to construct a regional trade arrangement.

(For more detail, see the Economic Support for the Middle East and North Africa Fact Sheet, see: <http://www.whitehouse.gov/the-press-office/2011/05/18/factsheet-economic-support-middle-east-and-north-africa>)

- **Promoting Peace and Security:** Even as we change our policy approach in response to political and economic changes in region, the United States maintains its commitment to pursue peace and stability in the region. We remain committed to our non-proliferation agenda in the region and worldwide and continue to demand that Iran meets its international obligation to halt its nuclear weapons program. Our counterterrorism agenda is as robust as ever, as evidenced by the recent takedown of Osama bin Laden. We will continue to take the fight to al Qa`ida and its affiliates wherever they are.

The Broad Outlines of Middle East Peace: The President seeks to shape an environment in which negotiations can restart when the parties are ready. He intends to do this laying out principles on territorial borders and security.

On territory, the boundaries of Israel and the Palestinian state should be based on the 1967 lines with mutually agreed swaps. On security the Palestinian state must be non-militarized, and the full and phased withdrawal of Israeli forces would be geared to the ability of Palestinian security forces and other arrangements as agreed to prevent a resurgence of terrorism; stop the infiltration of weapons; and provide effective border security. The duration of this transition period must be agreed, and may vary for different areas like borders. But it must be sufficient to demonstrate the effectiveness and credibility of security arrangements. Once Palestinians can be confident in the outlines of their state, and Israelis are confident that the new Palestinian state will not imperil its security, the parties will be in a position to grapple with the core issues of refugees and Jerusalem.

Ultimately, it is up to Israelis and Palestinians to take action. No peace can be imposed upon them, nor can endless delay make the problem go away. But what America and the international community can do is state frankly what everyone knows: a lasting peace will involve two states for two peoples. Israel as a Jewish state and the homeland for the Jewish people, and the state of Palestine as the homeland for the Palestinian people; each state enjoying self-determination, mutual recognition, and peace.

Ending the Combat Mission in Iraq, Building a Strategic Partnership: President Obama kept his commitment to responsibly end our combat mission in Iraq, bringing home 100,000 troops and transitioning to a full Iraqi lead for security in the country. Consistent with the 2008 Security Agreement, the United States intends to withdraw our remaining troops by the end of the year, while our civilians strengthen an enduring partnership with the Iraqi people and government in economic, diplomatic, cultural, and security fields.

Surged in Afghanistan: The strategy in Afghanistan is working. With the addition of 30,000 U.S. forces, nearly 10,000 coalition forces, and almost 1000 civilians, the surge is achieving its intended effect. We have arrested the Taliban's momentum and placed the insurgency under significant military pressure. Increasingly, our collective efforts are focused intensely on providing trainers and funding for Afghan National Security Forces to support their assuming lead security responsibility, significantly growing the Afghan Security Forces to nearly 300,000. Even as we begin to reduce our U.S. combat forces this July, and increasingly focus on advising and assisting the Afghan security forces, we are working toward completion of a renewed partnership agreement with the Afghans that will affirm our enduring commitment to stability in Afghanistan. Finally, we are equally committed to an Afghan-led political process toward a peaceful resolution.

Focused on Al Qa`ida: We have applied unprecedented pressure to disrupt, dismantle and defeat al Qa`ida and its adherents. We have disrupted plots at home, and increased military, intelligence, and diplomatic support to expand the capacity of our partners from Pakistan to Yemen; from Southeast Asia to Somalia. Over half of Al Qa`ida's top leadership has been killed or captured, including, most recently, Al Qa`ida's leader, Osama bin Laden. As the President noted in announcing Bin Laden's death to the American people, his demise does not mark the end of our effort, as al-Qa`ida remains intent on and capable of striking the United States and our partners.

Political Change in the Middle East and North Africa: The United States has demonstrated with its response to the political change in the Middle East and North Africa that promoting representative, responsive governance is a core tenet of U.S. foreign policy and directly contributes to our counterterrorism goals. Governments that place the will of their people first and encourage peaceful change through their policies, systems, and actions directly contradict the al-Qa`ida ideology, which at its core advocates for violent change and dismisses the right of the people to choose how they will be governed. Effective governance reduces the traction and space for al-Qa`ida, limiting its resonance and contributing to what it most fears — irrelevance.

Standing Up for Universal Rights in Iran: The Administration has strongly condemned Iran's violent repression at home and will continue to call on the government of Iran to allow the Iranian people the universal right to peacefully assemble and communicate. Just as we hold Iran accountable for its defiance of its international obligations on the nuclear program, we will continue to take actions to hold the Iranian government accountable for its gross human rights violations, including by designating Iranian officials and entities engaged in such violations. We will continue to provide capacity building training and new media tools to help Iranian citizens and civil society make their voices heard in calling for greater freedoms, transparency, and rule of law from their government.

3. Administration Priorities for Europe in the 112th Congress (05-18-2011)

Testimony

Philip H. Gordon, Assistant Secretary, Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs Statement before the Subcommittee on European Affairs of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Chairman Shaheen, Ranking Member Barrasso, Members of the Committee:

Watching the wave of democracy protests in the Arab world reminds us inevitably of the last time dictatorships across an entire region suddenly shook and collapsed under the weight of the people's desire for freedom. In 1989, Europe changed suddenly and immeasurably. Because of those events and because of the wise bipartisan policies in the years that followed, Europe, and our relationship with Europe, has changed vastly in the last twenty years. In those days, the major preoccupation in the transatlantic relationship was the defense of Europe against the Soviet threat. Today, Europe is almost fully democratic, largely unified, and is America's essential global partner. When the Libya crisis erupted, for example, we worked closely with our European allies pass UNSCRs 1970 and 1973, and we looked to NATO to lead the effort to enforce the no-fly zone and arms embargo and to protect civilians.

Beyond Libya, the U.S. and Europe work together on an extraordinarily wide range of issues, from Afghanistan to Iran to the tumultuous events in North Africa and the Middle East. On both sides of the Atlantic we are working hard to recover from the worst financial crisis since The Great Depression. Because our economies are intertwined, and we are working together so closely on problems around the globe, policy decisions taken in Europe to address the Eurozone crisis will have an impact here in the United States. There is a common thread that runs through all our engagement with Europe: U.S.-European cooperation is and remains essential to achieving our strategic objectives.

Our engagement with Europe begins with the idea that the United States faces a daunting international agenda and that our ability to deal with it is immeasurably increased by working with strong allies and partners. In meeting these challenges, we have no better partner than Europe, where we work with democratic, prosperous, militarily-capable allies who share our values and share our interests. In the words of President Obama, Europe is "the cornerstone of our engagement with the world."

To help you understand the breadth and depth of that engagement, I'll describe the strategic objectives that drive our approach toward Europe. Then, I'd like to offer you an assessment of our record over the past two years on these objectives.

When I think about this administration's priorities in Europe, there are three basic objectives that stand out in our engagement with the continent:

1. First, we work with Europe as a partner in meeting global challenges. On every issue of global importance, Europe's contributions are crucial to solving major international challenges. No matter what the issue is – from the war in Afghanistan, to the Iranian nuclear challenge, to the new operation in Libya – Europe is indispensable. We are vastly stronger – in terms of legitimacy, resources, and ideas – when we join forces with Europe on the global agenda.
2. Second, we are still working with Europe on Europe, that is to say working to complete the historic project of helping to extend stability, security, prosperity and democracy to the entire continent. The extraordinary success that the United States and Europe have had together in promoting European integration, in consolidating and supporting the new democracies in Central and Eastern Europe and integrating them into Euro-Atlantic institutions demonstrates the promise of this enterprise. But our work is not done. And so the effort continues in the Balkans, in Europe's east, and in the Caucasus.
3. Finally, we have sought to set relations with Russia on a more constructive course. President Obama recognized that he had inherited a relationship that was in a difficult place and that this situation did not serve the interests of the United States. Therefore, our goal has been to cooperate with Russia where we have common interests, but not at the expense of our principles or our friends. As such, where we have concerns, such as on Russia's human rights record, or on Georgia, we will continue to raise concerns with government and foster connections with civil society.

Looking back on the past two years, we can point to significant progress in each area:

First, we have worked together as never before with our European partners on global issues, including Afghanistan, Iran, missile defense, and the momentous developments in North Africa and the Middle East. Specifically:

- In Afghanistan, following the President's West Point speech in November 2009, Europe contributed about 7,000 additional troops, over 100 training teams for the Afghan army and police, and nearly \$300 million for the Afghan National Army trust fund. European nations now have almost 40,000 troops in Afghanistan and the total European contribution to Afghanistan since 2001 comes to over \$14 billion.
- On Iran, we maintained unity in our efforts to engage, and we have at the same time seen the strongest-ever set of sanctions adopted by the UN Security Council and an even more robust set of follow-on sanctions adopted by the European Union. These additional measures taken by the EU cover a variety of areas critical to the regime including trade, finance, banking and insurance, transport, and the gas and oil sectors, in addition to new visa bans and asset freezes. These steps have raised the price of Iran's failure to meet its obligations and we hope will serve to bring them back to the negotiating table.
- On Missile Defense, NATO allies recognized at the Lisbon Summit in November 2010 that the defense of Europe can no longer be achieved just by tanks or bombers. Now, we need defenses against a new and grave set of threats, in particular ballistic missiles in the hands of dangerous regimes. Our aim as an alliance is to develop a missile defense capability that will provide full coverage and protection from ballistic missile threats for all NATO European

territory, populations, and forces. This capability will be a tangible expression of NATO's core mission of collective defense. At the summit, allies also welcomed the U.S. missile defense system in Europe, known as the European Phased Adaptive Approach, as a valuable national contribution to the overall effort, and we hope to see additional voluntary contributions from other allies. We are now exploring further ways to cooperate with Russia on missile defense, without in any way prejudicing NATO's ability to independently defend its territory from missile threats.

- In Libya, we consulted and cooperated closely with our European allies to pass UNSCRs 1970 and 1973, which levied sanctions against the Qadhafi regime, established a no-fly zone over Libya, and gave us the authority to protect Libyan civilians from the regime's attacks. NATO took over enforcement of UNSCR 1973 on March 31 and now has over 7,000 personnel in Operation Unified Protector, over 200 aircraft and 20 ships. OUP has maintained a consistently high operational tempo across a vast country. NATO has flown over 6,000 sorties - almost half of them strike sorties – and hit hundreds of critical targets. And this is primarily a European operation. Over 60 percent of the aircraft come from our allies and our partners, including from the region. All 20 naval ships are contributed by Canada and European allies.

In the second area, extending the European zone of peace, prosperity, and democracy, we have had some important successes, but equally important challenges remain. As I said at the outset, the work of “completing” Europe is not finished. What I think is most notable about our current efforts under the Obama Administration is how closely – as part of a deliberate strategy – we are working together with Europe to achieve this goal.

Take, for instance, Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, Georgia, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. These are the countries of the EU's Eastern Partnership, an initiative that the United States strongly supports and works with to advance democracy, stability, and security in this part of the world. We share with our European counterparts a similar approach to these countries because of our common goals. As the situation has deteriorated in Belarus, including with the conviction of former Presidential candidate Sannikov, we have coordinated very closely with the EU including on possible additional sanctions.

The same can be said of the Balkans: the U.S. and European view is that Europe will not be complete until all of the countries of the Western Balkans are full EU members. On the dialogue between Serbia and Kosovo, on the future of Bosnia, on Croatia's path to the EU, we have consulted closely with Europe. We also welcomed Albania and Croatia into NATO, extended Membership Action Plans to Bosnia and Montenegro, and Macedonia will join once the dispute over its name is resolved. This degree of accord on the Balkans is the foundation of our success—we work together every step of the way. The intensive joint diplomacy of recent months has shown how closely our visions are aligned, something which is essential for progress in the region.

U.S. and European unity is particularly critical in Bosnia, where nationalist politicians are irresponsibly challenging the very core of the Dayton Accords and threatening the functioning and integrity of the Bosnian state. Bosnian leaders are often privileging their own interests above their populations. Bosnia cannot take its rightful place in Europe unless it has a state functional enough to meet NATO and EU accession requirements. We are, together with our European allies, committed to helping Bosnia meet those requirements.

Another example of the decisive impact that U.S.-European cooperation can have in the region is our joint response to events in Belarus. The Government of Belarus's crackdown on civil society

and the opposition following the flawed election in December has been sharply condemned on both sides of the Atlantic. We have made very clear that our relationship with Belarus cannot improve in the context of continued repression of civil society, the opposition, and independent media. The U.S. and the EU have called for the immediate and unconditional release of all detainees and an end to the continue human rights violations against critics of the government. We consider the five presidential candidates and other democratic activists who are being tried after being arrested in conjunction with the December 19 presidential election to be political prisoners; the latest convictions and ongoing trials are clearly politically motivated. Both we and Europe have targeted measures against those officials responsible for the crackdown even as we and Europe support the aspirations of the people of Belarus for a modern open society. To that end, the United States is providing an additional \$4 million in democracy-related assistance to help Belarusians create space for the free expression of political views, the development of a civil society, freedom of the media, and empowerment of independent entrepreneurs. Both we and Europe want a better, more productive relationship with Belarus; unfortunately, the country's leadership is following a policy that will only further isolate Belarus and its people.

Turning to the Caucasus, our joint efforts with the European Union and other international partners in the region have resulted in progress, but disputes over territory and a need for further meaningful political and economic reforms remain serious obstacles to greater stability. In Georgia, our steadfast engagement and generous assistance have aided in transforming Georgia into an aspiring democracy and important partner to NATO in Afghanistan. Together with our European partners, we will maintain our support for Georgia's territorial integrity and sovereignty within its internationally recognized borders and will continue to support international efforts to find a peaceful resolution to the dispute over Abkhazia and South Ossetia. Elsewhere in the region, we will continue to press for democratic reforms and an opening of the political space such that human rights and fundamental freedoms are fully respected, to encourage normalization between Turkey and Armenia, and to increase our engagement through the Minsk Group with Russia and France to help Armenia and Azerbaijan find a peaceful settlement to the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. In that regard, we strongly believe that the time has come to finalize and endorse the Basic Principles and move to the drafting of a peace agreement. We believe that the United States and Europe must work together to avoid further conflict in Europe and help the countries in the region move towards democracy, peace, and greater prosperity.

Our foreign assistance investments remain an important instrument in advancing the European zone of peace, prosperity and democracy. There have been reductions to the region's assistance budget in the Administration's FY 2012 Request. They are the result of the achievement of some assistance goals in the region and of the particularly difficult budget climate in which we find ourselves. In future decisions on resource allocations, we will continue to take account of vital long-term U.S. interests in this region.

Finally, what has arguably been the most challenging part of our European agenda – our reset with Russia – has paid significant dividends. Challenges remain. However, we can now say that our engagement with Russia can help with America's security and our global priorities. The results speak for themselves:

- Most significantly, we have concluded a New START Treaty and following the recent approval by both Congress and the Russian State Duma, it has entered into force. The agreement is the most comprehensive arms control agreement in nearly two decades and significantly reduces the number of nuclear weapons and launchers deployed by the United States and Russia while also putting in place a strong verification regime.

- We signed an agreement for the transit of troops and materiel across Russia in support of efforts in Afghanistan. Under our bilateral agreements, more than 1100 flights carrying over 170,000 U.S. military personnel have transited Russia en route to Afghanistan. Under a NATO-Russia agreement, nearly 27,000 containers have transited Russia for use in Afghanistan. At this time, 50% of U.S. sustainment cargo for Afghanistan goes through the Northern Distribution Network and 60% of supplies transiting that network go through Russia. This is a significant benefit for the United States.
- We have secured cooperation with Russia on Iran and North Korea's nuclear programs, both in terms of UN Security Council Resolutions 1929 and 1874 respectively, and Russia's decision to cancel a contract for the delivery of the S-300 air defense system to Iran.

We have done all of this without compromising our principles – in particular our steadfast commitment to respect for universal values, the sovereignty, and territorial integrity of all of the nations of Europe. We firmly believe that the security and prosperity of Europe also rests in adhering to commitments to advance human rights and democracy. Where human rights problems exist, we will continue to speak out and strongly support the rights of Russian citizens and others throughout the region to peacefully exercise freedom of expression and assembly as guaranteed under the constitution and enshrined in the UN Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Helsinki accords.

And thanks to the work of the Bilateral Presidential Commission and its 18 working groups, our engagement with Russian society is paying important dividends as well. Polling now indicates 60 percent of Russians have a positive view of the U.S., a figure not seen in nearly a decade.

This brief overview of the U.S. agenda with Europe demonstrates that we work together closely with Europe on nearly every major issue, both internationally and within Europe. Whether the issue is promoting democracy in Europe's east or south, advancing energy security for the whole continent, or contributing to the NATO effort to secure Afghanistan, the energy, ideas, and commitment of Europe is something we look to and rely upon in pursuing our common goals.

As you can see, our transatlantic partners have been very busy. But appropriately so – we have an extremely full U.S.-Europe agenda because we have so many pressing challenges in the world today, and close transatlantic cooperation is the indispensable starting point in addressing all of them.

There is much work to be done to translate this agenda into concrete steps toward the security and prosperity of both Europe and the United States. This is not easy, particularly at a time of budgetary austerity all across the industrialized world. We will have to adapt creatively to this new reality by finding ways to make our collective defense spending smarter and more efficient. We will need to reform NATO and streamline its operations, as we and our NATO allies pledged in the recent NATO Strategic Concept. We will have to find ways to advance NATO-EU cooperation so that the full resources of both institutions can be harnessed most effectively. We must continue to build on the momentum of the OSCE Astana Summit last December to reinvigorate efforts to ensure comprehensive security in Europe. We have to create a more seamless and market-based flow of energy into Europe and within Europe. If we can do these things, I am confident that the partnership between the United States and Europe – which has achieved so much in the last sixty years – will achieve even greater things in the decades to come.

With that, I look forward to your questions.

4. Clinton, EU's Ashton Say Iran Must Take Nuclear Talks Seriously (05-17-2011)

By Stephen Kaufman
Staff Writer

Washington — The United States and the European Union called on Iran to drop its preconditions and agree to serious talks on its nuclear program and to start addressing the international community's concerns that its civilian nuclear program is being used as a cover for the development of nuclear weapons.

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton met in Washington May 17 with Catherine Ashton, the European Union high representative for foreign affairs and security policy, and said their discussions had included the joint efforts of France, the United Kingdom, Germany, Russia, China and the United States — collectively known as the P5+1 — to prevent Iran from acquiring nuclear weapons.

"We have been clear and united, under Cathy Ashton's leadership ... that Iran has to meet its international obligations and negotiate seriously on the nuclear issue," Clinton said.

U.S. officials have said the previous meetings between Iran and the P5+1 to discuss its nuclear program were disappointing.

During talks in Geneva in October 2009, the P5+1 proposed a deal that would have provided Iran's Tehran Research Reactor with enriched uranium fuel and would have required that the enrichment be done in another country to ensure that uranium would not be enriched to a level that could be used for nuclear weapons.

Iran ultimately rejected the offer, and has since declared that it is enriching its own uranium fuel supplies.

Following a second meeting that was held in Istanbul in January 2011, [the P5+1 issued a joint statement](#) saying that "it was not possible to reach any substantive result" from the talks.

"We came to Geneva and to Istanbul with a constructive spirit and proposed in Istanbul several practical ideas aimed at building confidence and to facilitate the engagement of a constructive dialogue with Iran on the basis of reciprocity and step-by-step approach. We look to Iran to engage in future in a similarly constructive spirit," the statement said.

On May 10, the secretary of Iran's Supreme National Security Council, Saeed Jalili, sent Ashton a letter concerning the possibility of additional talks. Clinton said Ashton is preparing a response to Jalili on behalf of the P5+1, but said "the burden remains on Iran to demonstrate it is prepared to end its stalling tactics, drop its unacceptable preconditions and start addressing the international community's concerns."

Ashton said she received Jalili's correspondence three months after she had sent a letter calling for further discussions.

"I had wished for a stronger and better letter from them to recognize that the offer on the table is an offer they should look at very carefully. I will be sending a reply," she said, adding "I would like to

say there will be a new round of talks. From the letter that I've received, I don't see that at the present time."

5. U.S. Attorney General on U.S. Global Strategy on Cyberspace (05-16-2011)

Remarks as prepared for delivery by Attorney General Erick Holder at the rollout of the U.S. International Strategy for Cyberspace, Washington, D.C.

Thank you, Secretary Clinton. It is a privilege to join with you — and with Secretary Locke, Secretary Napolitano, and so many government and business leaders, security experts, civil rights advocates, and international allies — as we announce a new strategy aimed at engaging our global partners in maintaining the security and vibrancy of "cyberspace."

I want to join John Brennan — who is doing a great job leading the Administration's work on this issue — in thanking all of you for being here, and for your support and participation in developing the historic strategy we've gathered to discuss.

Although we may approach the issue of cyber threats from different perspectives, we are united by our common goals: security, opportunity, openness, and prosperity. We're also bound by our shared values — and by our collective concerns. The 21st-century threats we now face — to both our national and economic security — have no precedent. They know no borders. And they demand — not only our constant attention, but also a comprehensive, collaborative, and well-coordinated response.

In this new age of seamless global commerce and instant communication, we all stand to benefit — but only if the information technology being used to drive social, economic, and political progress is secure. Unfortunately, for every technological or commercial quantum leap that we have made, criminals — and often entire international criminal syndicates — have kept pace. Thefts of information that would have been impossible in an ink-and-paper world can now be carried out nearly undetected, from almost anywhere.

Today, in communities worldwide, cybercrime threatens the security of our citizens and the integrity of our markets — discouraging investments and stifling innovation; and — all too often — devastating businesses and individual lives. If we are to meet the goals and responsibilities that we share — protecting public safety and personal privacy, fostering innovation and creativity, and stimulating economic growth — we need a new, cutting-edge framework for preventing and combating cybercrime. One that's nimble enough to fight complex, constantly evolving threats — but also strong enough to ensure that essential freedoms are upheld.

That's precisely why the new International Strategy for Cyberspace is so important.

Today, with the unveiling of this strategy, we are signaling that — nearly a decade since the approval of the Budapest Convention on Cybercrime — a new era of global collaboration, engagement, and vigilance has begun.

Just last month, I had the opportunity to travel to Budapest — where I spoke at an event commemorating the Convention. Ten years ago, the U.S. was among the first nations to support this landmark agreement — which provided a path for allies across the world to address cyber threats and criminal activities, while also safeguarding civil rights.

This agreement — and the international working groups and joint initiatives that followed it — have been effective in breaking down barriers to transnational cooperation and communication. And, today, we're working with our international partners to advance investigations and prosecutions like never before. Not only do we have agents and attorneys in place across the globe, where they work alongside local law enforcement teams; we're also able to respond to potential threats more quickly and effectively than ever. And the results of such collaboration are clear.

In recent months, the Justice Department has announced takedowns of significant criminal groups operating from Romania, Egypt, and elsewhere that had been victimizing American businesses and citizens — including children. We've also brought multiple criminal conspirators to justice for their roles in coordinated cybercrimes that, according to court documents, netted nearly 1.5 million dollars from U.S. victims. And, just a few weeks ago, we announced an operation to disable an international criminal network that had infected more than two million computers worldwide with malicious software. Until we stepped in — with the help of industry and security experts, as well as key international partners — this malware was allowing criminals to capture bank account numbers, user names, and other sensitive and financial information online.

While we can all be encouraged by these and other successes, we cannot become complacent. As President Obama has repeatedly indicated — we must, and we will, take our global fight against cyber threats to the next level. The strategy that we are announcing today is an affirmation of that promise. It reinforces our nation's support for the Budapest Convention — and for efforts to establish the rule of law in cyberspace. It also reflects our ongoing commitment to prevent terrorists and other criminals from exploiting the Internet for operational planning or financing — or for the execution of attacks.

I have every confidence that this new strategy will allow us to build on the record of progress that's been achieved in recent years in preventing and combating cybercrimes — and in more effectively ensuring that the Internet will continue to provide a forum for open discourse, a marketplace for commercial innovation, and a safe environment for our children to communicate and learn. But — to get where we need to be — we must bring even more government and industry partners into this work.

No single agency, company, community, or country has access to all of the facts necessary to fully assess the nature of the threats that we face — or to adequately address them. Only by working together can we truly understand current problems and confront emerging challenges. Only by joining forces can we effectively fight back.

In this fight, I am proud to stand with you. I am grateful to count you as partners. And I look forward to what we will accomplish together in the critical days ahead.

And, now, I'm pleased to turn things over to a key leader in this work — my friend, Secretary Locke.

6. Secretary Clinton on U.S. International Strategy for Cyberspace (05-16-2011)

Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton on the release of Obama Administration's International Strategy for Cyberspace

SECRETARY CLINTON: Well, thank you very much. As you can guess from John's introductory remarks, we are very pleased this day has come. We are delighted at the extraordinary work that has

been done across our government with the unveiling of this International Strategy for Cyberspace, and we look forward to partnering with our private sector, with other nations, and with others who share the goal that is set forth in this new document that really tries to achieve the goal that is set forth in the very beginning, and that is, the United States will work internationally to promote an open, interoperable, secure, and reliable information and communications infrastructure that supports international trade and commerce, strengthens international security, and fosters free expression and innovation. To achieve that goal, we will build and sustain an environment in which norms of responsible behavior guides states actions, sustains partnerships, and support the rule of law in cyberspace.

This is a policy that very much sums up what the United States seeks. Many of you representing the governments of other countries, as well as the private sector or foundations or civil society groups, share our commitment to ensuring that the internet remains open, secure, and free, not only for the 2 billion people who are now online, but for the billions more who will be online in the years ahead.

What they are able to do in cyberspace, whether they can exchange ideas and opinions openly, freely explore the subjects of their choosing, stay safe from cyber criminals, and engage in professional and personal activities online, confident that doing so will remain private and secure, depends a great deal on the policies that we will adopt together.

Now, many of you know that the State Department has staked out a position as a leader on internet freedom, and I see Alec Ross, who has headed our efforts on that. This is one critical aspect of cyber policy. But we know very well that the numbers of issues seem to be infinitely expanding, and we need to develop, deploy, and coordinate policies that address the full array of cyber issues. That is what the U.S. International Strategy for Cyberspace is intended to help us do. Because it does, as John said, bring together, for the first time under one framework, all the different policies that the United States is pursuing into an integrated whole-of-government approach.

It also articulates, for the first time, all of the principles that guide our work – those that infuse our foreign policy, such as upholding the fundamental freedoms that we consider internet freedom to be part of, and all the other aspects of this policy that will be addressed by my colleagues. We try to really tackle all of the difficult issues and challenges that cyberspace presents. And we know very well that everything we've written today we will have to keep updating as new challenges and opportunities arise. Because while the internet offers new ways for people to exercise their political rights, it also, as we have seen very clearly in the last months, gives governments new tools for clamping down on dissent. And while the internet creates new economic opportunities for people at every point on the development spectrum, it also gives criminals new openings to steal personal data and intellectual property. And while the internet makes it possible for governments and people to collaborate more closely across borders, it presents new terrain for conflict, when states or other actors deliberately disrupt networks or when terrorists use the internet to organize attacks.

So, we seek to maximize the internet's tremendous capacity to accelerate human progress, while sharpening our response and our tools to deal with the threats and the problems and the disputes that are part of cyberspace.

Now, as we look at this strategy, I want to be clear about what it is not. It is not a series of prescriptions, and that's an important distinction. Because as we work to achieve a cyberspace that is open, interoperable, secure, and reliable, there is no one-size-fits-all, straightforward route to that goal. We have to build a global consensus around a shared vision for the future of cyberspace to make sure it serves, rather than impedes, the social, economic, and political aspirations of people worldwide. And that can only happen through patient, persistent, and creative diplomacy.

So the strategy identifies seven key policy priorities that will be the focus of our diplomatic outreach going forward. They are: first, economic engagement to encourage innovation and trade while safeguarding intellectual property; second, cyber security to protect our networks and strengthen international security; third, law enforcement to improve our ability to respond to cyber-crime, including by strengthening international laws and regulations where appropriate; next, military cooperation to help our alliances do more together to confront cyber threats while ensuring that our military's networks remain protected; next, multi-stakeholder internet governance so that networks work the way they should; and then, development to support the rise of new partners by helping countries develop their digital infrastructure and build their capacity to withstand cyber threats; and finally, but for us very importantly, internet freedom. We want to do more together to protect privacy and secure fundamental freedoms of expression, assembly, and association, online as we do offline. Together, these seven priorities comprise a new foreign policy imperative for which the State Department has been exercising and will continue to have a leading role.

Now, what we are trying to do in furtherance of those imperatives is to integrate cyber issues into our programs across the board, from our cooperation with other nations to stop criminal cartels, to our economic diplomacy, to our support for girls and women worldwide. We've created our 21st century statecraft agenda to harness new technologies to achieve our diplomatic and development goals, and we want to continue to press forward on this with the partners that we see here before us. We are sponsoring capacity-building efforts around the world to help more countries play a bigger role in the internet. And as our focus on internet freedom clearly describes, we are supporting the efforts of human rights and democracy activists to ensure that they have access to an open internet. We are funding cutting-edge programs to give them the tools and the know-how to communicate effectively and safely to get their message out, even as governments try to silence them or cut them off from the internet.

To coordinate these and other efforts, we've created the new Office of the Coordinator for Cyber Issues. Chris Painter, a longtime expert in the field, is now on the job at the State Department, having joined us from the White House and the NSC, where he helped lead the development of the strategy we're releasing today. Chris's office is taking the lead at the State Department as we work with other nations and partners to promote these broad goals.

Now, we're entering a next phase in our engagement with cyberspace based on this strategy, and we're seeing how countries are adjusting their own policies and approaches. And we're understanding that we can't have disparate, stove-piped discussions, because as many countries have begun to focus more on internet policies and as more citizens have gone online, too often the international discussions we have about cyber issues deals with each of these challenges separately. Our diplomats meet with their counterparts on cyber crime, and then on another occasion on internet freedom, and then finally, on a third, on network security.

We are not dealing with these issues internationally in a coordinated, integrated fashion, and so now we will based on our strategy. And our hope is that you will actually read this strategy, that you will engage with us on it, that you will look at, understand our principles and our approach, and then join us in helping to put them into practice. We are seeing cyberspace transform before our very eyes. Now we have to shape that transformation, and we are excited that this strategy is going to give us the roadmap that we will follow going forward. And I look forward to working with you in the months ahead to translate this strategy into action. And it's now my pleasure to introduce my colleague, Attorney General Eric Holder. (Applause.)
